

THE NATIONAL ERA.
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SCHUYLER F. JOSE, of Ogdensburg, New York, is authorized to act as an agent for the National Era in St. Lawrence county, New York.

We take pleasure in laying before our readers, this week, the able speech of the Hon. J. C. Crowell, of Ohio, which we have no doubt will be read with great interest.

TO THE READERS OF THE ERA.

The comments on the article entitled "Impressions of William L. Chaplin," from the *Free Press*, in the last *Era*, were not written by the editor, who is still absent, and who does not approve of some of its views.

THE BALANCE OF POWER.

The ultra pro-slavery men have a catchword, for which they are indebted to the late Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Calhoun, upon the subject of the relative strength of the free and slave States, which we propose to examine. It is a notion of theirs, that an equality of political power can be and ought to be preserved between the two sections, though they have not very clearly explained how the thing is to be done. We are not out up into smaller ones, or the Northern to be amalgamated into larger. We are only told that the Constitution is to be changed, in order to consummate the desired object, without being furnished with the particulars of the plan proposed. It may be that they may demand not only an equality in the Senate, but also in the House of Representatives, and, consequently, in the electoral colleges. To effect any of these changes, will require the assent of a majority, in some cases of three-fourths of the States; and unless the suppleances of General Cass were a more predominant quality in Yankeeedom than we have reason to think it is, we are not likely to witness such a settlement of the balance of power. The absurdity of the proposition is too great to entitle it to a moment's consideration; and the mind which gave birth to it must have been in a very unhealthy condition, or it must have been unduly excited by contemplating the effects which the gasconade and bluster of the chivalry was likely to produce upon the phlegmatic people of the North.

Considering it, therefore, as out of the question to preserve the balance of power by a reorganization of the Federal Government, we will proceed to consider the effect which the progress of population is likely to have upon the relative strength of the North and South. In the year 1790 the population of the slave States was nearly equal to that of the free, there being only 7,150 persons more in the latter division than in the former, according to Jesse Chickering, of Boston, a gentleman distinguished for his accurate acquaintance with statistics. This trifling difference, amounting to less than the population of a small county, has gradually risen to between three and a half to four millions, and the recent great acceleration which has been given to foreign emigration will in twenty years cause the North to number twice as many inhabitants as the South. Another circumstance tending in the same direction is the gradual liberation of the more Northern slave States from slavery by the sale or removal of the slaves further South. In this way Delaware, without a formal act of emancipation, has become, to all practical intents, free; and her Senators and Representatives have frequently shown more devotion to the cause of freedom by their votes than those from some of the free States. Maryland, likewise, is in a state of transition from slavery to freedom; and in view of all the moral, social, and political engines at work for the overthrow of slavery, it may safely be predicted that the institution cannot last ten years in that State. The situation of Missouri and Kentucky is similar to that of Maryland; and at a day not much more distant, they will be ranked among the free States. As an engine of sectional combination, the institution of slavery has already ceased to exercise that omnipotent control which it exerts further South. The affinities of the People are more and more becoming Northern; by the increase of the white population, and the relative or actual diminution of the number of slaves. The growth of the commercial and manufacturing interests in these States is the greatest secret of the decline of the Slave-Power; and even the agriculture which those interests encourage is of a nature not suited to slavery.

From these various causes, the South is likely to be greatly weakened, and the North strengthened, by the gradual transformation of the border States. The weak will become weaker, and the strong stronger, while the tide of European emigration is all the while swelling the North, North-western, and Pacific States. The South is therefore doomed to decline far more rapidly than ever in political consequence, until its interests and institutions cease to be distinct from those of the Northern portion of the Union. So rapid is this tendency of things, that we might almost venture to predict that in twenty or twenty-five years, there will be less of sectional difference and sectional prejudice between Massachusetts and South Carolina than will by that time have arisen between the States east and west of the Mississippi. We however anticipate no strong or rooted prejudices between the different quarters of the Union after the extinction of slavery. There will doubtless be a continuation of the Tariff squabble, and a sectional strife about the public lands, and the improvement of rivers and harbors, and the construction of railroads, by the Federal Government; but these different interests can never give rise to the furious passions which the slavery propagandists have displayed.

The greater increase of the Northern population than that of the Southern will affect the political power of the two sections in the House of Representatives and in the electoral colleges. The preponderance of the North in the Senate will depend upon the question of new States. The most superficial glance at the present condition of things must convince every one that two or three free States must, in the nature of things, be added to the Union before another slave State is admitted. There is at present no slave territory belonging to the Union. Every foot of the public domain has been declared free by Congress, or by the People inhabiting it; and we see little probability that the law of freedom can be superseded by that of slavery west of the Rio Grande, or east of it, within the proper limits of New Mexico. If, therefore, any more new slave States are created, they must be manufactured out of Texas, with the consent of Congress; and it is well known that so sparse and inconsiderable is the population of that State, that not more than one new State can be made out of its immense territory, containing the requisite number of inhabitants, for several years to come.

With the Northern territory the case is quite different. Already we have California and New Mexico knocking at the doors of Congress for admission into the Union; and in three or four years, Minnesota and Oregon will have the requisite population to form State Governments. Indeed, Oregon, from the recent discoveries of gold in great abundance, may be expected to demand a State Government within twelve or eighteen months from to-day. The whole tide of western emigration, which crosses the frontiers of the Western States, now finds a home on free soil; and it is not to be forgotten, that the slave States themselves now pour out their myriads, only to people the future free States of the West. Southern men may therefore with abandon the chimerical project of preserving the balance of power between Freedom and Slavery. "Manifest destiny" has declared against Slavery, and no amount of political energy, or which the South far exceeds the North, can stay the overwhelming influence of the latter in the affairs of this country, in a very few years. Disunion would

be ten thousand times the worst remedy that could be adopted. The fiat has gone forth, that the spirit of freedom is to rule the North American continent; and the efforts of the friends of slavery to extend the institution have only served to awaken the dormant love of freedom in the hearts of the People. The true wisdom of the Southern people would consist in adapting their condition to the order of Nature. They cannot "stand from under" the avalanche of free principles which their conjurations in behalf of slavery have precipitated upon them.

But we hold that slavery cannot exist in this country many years, in the present form of that institution, even if there were no moral engine at work against it. It has within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. Slavery is incompatible with density of population. Labor becomes too cheap, and the necessities of life too dear, to warrant the holding of a half or two-thirds of the people in that condition. A species of serfdom might continue, and the domestic service might still be performed by slaves in a Pagan or Mahometan country; but when the institution has no more hold upon men's pockets than that amounts to in this country, a country of Bibles and newspapers, it will tumble down.

STRANGE INCONSISTENCY.

The Southern newspapers, particularly those of the more ultra *Whigs*, are full of inconsistency. The *Richmond Enquirer*, for instance, recently held at Catoenra, in New York. If a Northern man were to be caught south of Mason and Dixon's line, with a paper containing such matter, he would be tarred and feathered, if not hanged. Why not tar and feather, if not hang, the Southern editors for doing the same thing? If a man were to throw a firebrand into a magazine, in order to show how the "incendiaries" do, would he be doing less to destroy those around him than the veritable incendiary himself? How unjust, to incriminate Harriet for circulating pamphlets addressed to the poor whites, urging them merely to exercise their political franchise independently, when Southern editors publish the proceedings of the Greenovian Convention, which hold out encouragement to the slaves to rebel! We leave it to Southern caustics to recognize the inconsistencies, if they can; for ourselves we cannot help suspecting that, after all, they are not so much afraid of Northern fanaticism as they pretend.

GREEK AGAINST GREEK.

"Perforations in the 'Latter Day Pamphlet,' by one of the eighteen millions of bores, edited by Elitour Wright," is the significant title of a pamphlet of forty-eight pages, from the press of Phillips, Sampson, & Co., of Boston. It is a keenly-written and spiritual review of the recent extraordinary publications of Thomas Carlyle; and it is too little to say of it that as a piece of vigorous writing, it is at least equal to the best of the essays which it criticises; while in the matter of common sense, sound philosophy, and humanity, it infinitely transcends them. Its author is well known throughout the country as an original and piquant newspaper editor, and this last production of his pen is by no means likely to diminish his reputation. Nothing like it or equal to it has ever appeared on this side of the water. It reminds one of a well-reasoned and eloquent political essay of Bismarck, with the substitution of liberty for conservatism. The author, while he shows his ability to maintain a close and logical argument, meets his antagonist on his own ground, with his own favorite weapons of sarcasm, caricature, and ridicule, and, in dealing with his political heresies and absurdities, acts upon the seemingly contradictory advice of the wise man of old, and answers him according and not according to his folly.

A specimen of the style and argument of Professor Wright's pamphlet, we give two or three extracts from that portion of it devoted to the consideration of Carlyle's ultra-monarchical notions of government, his hostility to national suffrage, and his maintenance of the divine right of certain unknown, wise, and heroic individuals to take the reins of absolute power, and govern nations after the summary fashion of the Dictator of Paraguay, or the old Deys of Algiers.

"Prophets and historians, less extravagant than Carlyle, and less full of ancient and modern lore, looking at the monarchy or the dynasty, or the caste, as the nation; and through their deceptive writings we always see governments and dynasties, and their rights and feuds excessively magnified, and the people reduced to the condition of a mere tool. Indeed we see in history but little else. The real history of the race is hidden behind that of ambitious usurpers of government, or rather it is totally lost for the want of historians. The world is a mere blank, and we find not the representative men, the sages, the heroes, the great characters, the Archimedes, and the wonderful servant Archimedes; but what do we know of the Egyptian farmer, or the Assyrian market-man, or the ancient Sicilian peasant? 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